The Suffragist

5 CENTS

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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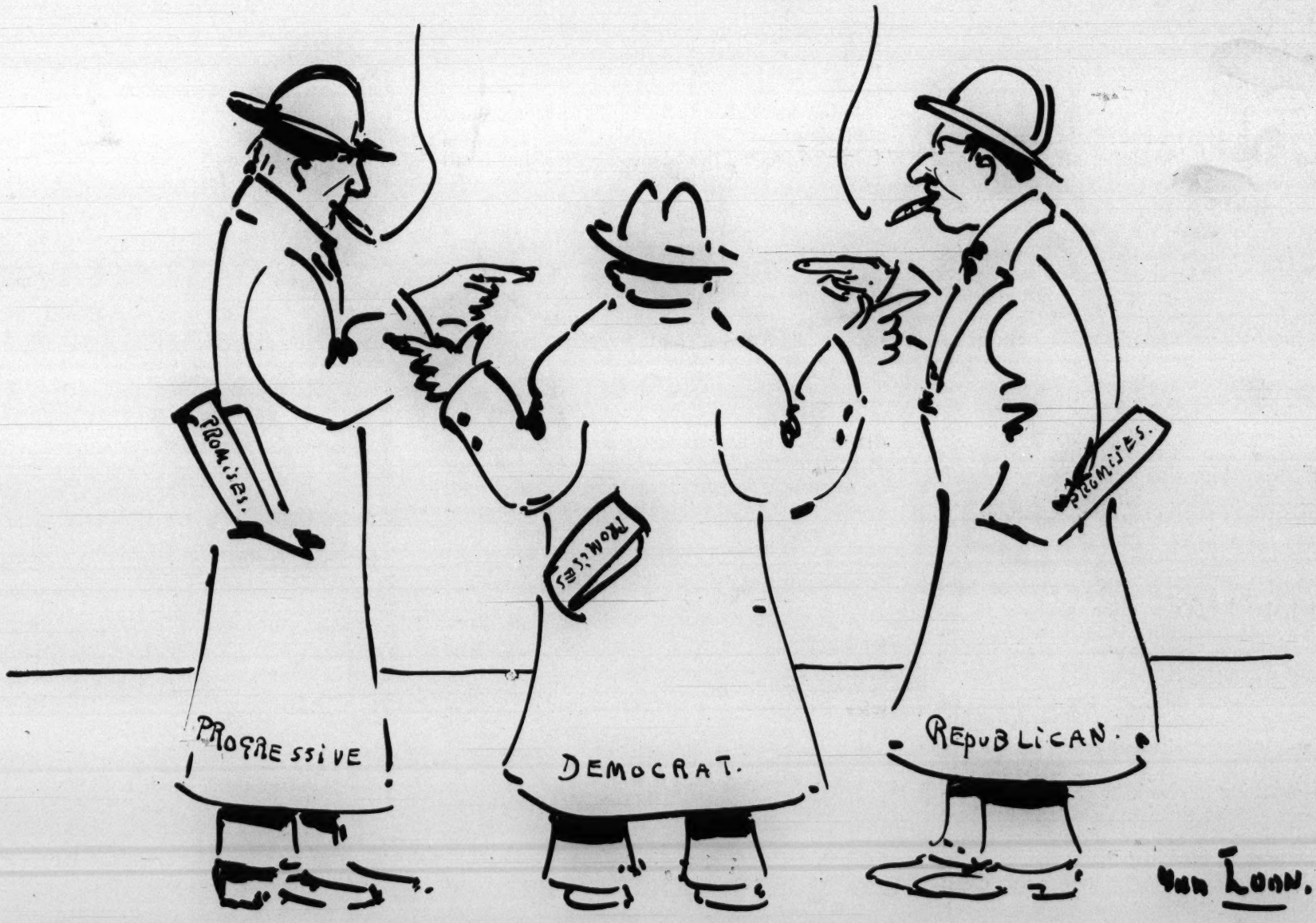


"TELL HIM TO DO IT."

SOME OF MRS. GILMAN'S CONCLUSIONS.

(Reported in the New York Times).

Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, speaking on "The Economic Relation of Men and Women —the Effect of Making Marriage a Profession," to some 300 women interested in the "larger feminism," at the Hotel Astor yesterday, destroyed both houses of the human race in rapid succession with a few sharp words, and then analyzed the results of such a dire and hypothetical catastrophe.

Mrs. Gilman asserted that, as a creature of sex, woman was superior to man, an assertion that provoked no word of protest from the three men present, each one of whom seemed smilingly to admit that as a female he was infinitely inferior to the surrounding women folk. But as human beings, said Mrs. Gilman, the women were far inferior to the male of the species. Civilized man could do thousands of things which the savage man could not, but could civilized woman do many more things than savage woman? Some thought she could not do as many, said Mrs. Gilman savagely.

"We have not kept pace with the male of the human species," she said. "We are not as human as he. There is nothing a he-bear can do as a bear which Mrs. Bear cannot do as well or better. In human society alone the he can do everything and the she nothing."

Only one woman in every sixteen to-day, said Mrs. Gilman, even kept a servant; all the remaining fifteen-sixteenths were still doing housework—for the young working girls who weren't hoped to do so as soon as they could land a husband. While woman had thus remained stationary as a household drudge, man had gone forward developing all the arts and sciences and industries of human civilization.

"Now," Mrs. Gilman pointed out, "all creatures adapt themselves to their environment, and what most modifies them is what they do for a living. The tendency of the he-peacock to increase the glory of his splendid tail-feathers for sex attraction is checked, when the tail becomes very unwieldy, by natural selection; he never lets his selection interfere with his getting a livelihood. In our race alone you find the human female economically dependent on the male and fed by him. The nearest parallel to this in Nature is the case of the she-hornbill, who, while in her nest, is all walled in by mud, with only her big beak protruding; and into this the he-hornbill puts the food to sustain her. But that's only while she is in the hole. After her functions of motherhood are over she takes care of herself; and she doesn't ask for alimony if he leaves her. We women alone have the ignominious distinction of being always fed by the male of the species.

"As a result, cut off from the operation of the manifold forces developing man, the modifying force of natural selection is denied women, and nothing remains save her selection without anything to check it. So that whereas in other species the female selects the best male and raises the quality of the race thereby, in the case of human females the selection of a male has come to be no longer this clean and healthy choice of the best male, but a choice of a male through whom she can get a living.

"And so in human animals the sex order of nature has become reversed: in all other animals it is the male who carries the sex decoration to attract the female; in human society alone the female wears the sex decoration. They tell us the new woman will tend to be unsexed. Instead, woman is already unsexed —we have adopted the man's decoration.

"The human race is over-sexed simply because half of us make our living through that commodity. We have the harshest condemnation for the open, glaring sale of it, and for monetary marriages if they are glaring. But we do not yet condemn the condition itself. While woman as a class depends on man as a class economically, some women will necessarily make monetary matches. It can't be helped. But as soon as all women become economically independent, and with the cooling of the race, there will be an end to this condition."

The primordial duty of women as females, said Mrs. Gilman, was undoubtedly to be mothers. But as human beings their duty was far outside that—even a kitten could be a mother. She continued:

"Men have taught themselves to believe that because we're females we can be nothing else. Now we tell them we are females, but also human beings. The news hurt them; it dislocates their previous underlying ideals. But it can't be helped. Women are beginning now to develop race characters as well as mere sex characters."

In the entanglement of sex and business, Mrs. Gilman said, woman had brought her sex energies into business in order to get a male, and man had brought his business into his sex energies in order to get a living and thereby his female. Both sex and work had thereby been degraded and the highest human relations desecrated. The economic relations of man and woman must be disentangled first, she said, before their sex relations could be disentangled.

"Man has deliberately bred the pretty, gentle little type of female in his choice of a mate, for her sex qualities alone, because that timid type is the easiest to handle," said Mrs. Gilman. "Most of us women to-day boast, actually boast, of being afraid of mice! I have told women that the mouse is a harmless little animal, and has very sweet and agreeable fur. I've felt it. Timidity is only another word for cowardice. We have every right to be as courageous as men, and we need to be."

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Now that the hearing before the Judiciary Committee in the House is over, the need of friends to assist the campaign States, becomes of increasing importance. The Congressional Union must bear a large share in the capture of these States. Nothing will bring so much pressure to bear upon Congress as the added leverage which will result from their admission as Equal Suffrage territory. Experienced organizations are needed, and experienced organizers must be paid. Plans are completed for the organizers in Nevada.

Work in the organization of the Nation-wide demonstration is being pushed with all possible speed, the grand finale in Washington will need financial support.

What will you do to help?

MARY MORRIS,
Treasurer.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $50,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.

List of contributors from February 24th to March 4th, 1914.

Miss Helen Frances Shedd	$1.00
Mrs. W. D. Conner	.75
Mrs. Richard Wainwright	25.00
Miss Genevieve Wimsatt	5.00
Miss Tacie E. Gillingham	10.00
Mrs. Louise B. Angell	1.00
Elizabeth M. Wilson	1.00
Mrs. J. Claude Bedford (per Mrs. Lawrence Lewis)	5.00
Miss Mattie H. Maddux	5.00
Anonymous	6.00
Arthur E. Hutchinson (per Mrs. Lawrence Lewis)	36.00
Miss Rachel Lowrie (per Mrs. Lawrence Lewis)	1.00
Sale of tickets	33.50
Membership fees	2.74
Total	$132.99
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	29,428.93
Total to March 4th, 1914	$29,561.92

NOTES OF THE WEEK

Situation in Congress.

Senator Ashurst asked unanimous consent for the discussion of Joint Resolution No. 1 on March 27th. Mr. Bryan of Florida, objected.

Senator Ashurst moved to make the Woman Suffrage Consttiution amendment the unfinished work of the session on Monday afternoon. This movement was carried by 47 to 14. The movement on the Woman Suffrage Amendment is in progress. The hearing before the House Judiciary Committee was held Tuesday morning, on House Joint Resolution No. 1.

Lenten Meetings.

Mr. Frank Stephen of Delaware, spoke at the home of Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood on Thursday. The speech was one of the Serials, of those arranged by Mrs. J. J. White.

DEMONSTRATION PLANS.

It is pleasant, in a week of blizzards, roaring gales and March cold to look forward to May and the great demonstration on the second day of that genial month.

Such interest has been developed in Pennsylvania in the plan that instead of having merely one demonstration in Philadelphia, as originally planned, it has now been decided to hold a demonstration of some kind in every town and village throughout the State. The Pennsylvania State Suffrage Association is co-operating most heartily in the work.

Mrs. Bayard Hilles, Chairman of the Procession Committee for Delaware, announces that there will be one procession in that State, which will be held in the city of Wilmington, but that delegates from every election precinct in the State will participate. Mrs. Hilles has undertaken a series of floats for the procession, each float representing an important woman in American history. The procession will end in a mass meeting in front of the Wilmington Court House.

What She Didn't Know.

"John," complained Mrs. Dorkins, "the ashes and garbage in our alley have not been carted away for more than six weeks. I wish you would notify the authorities."

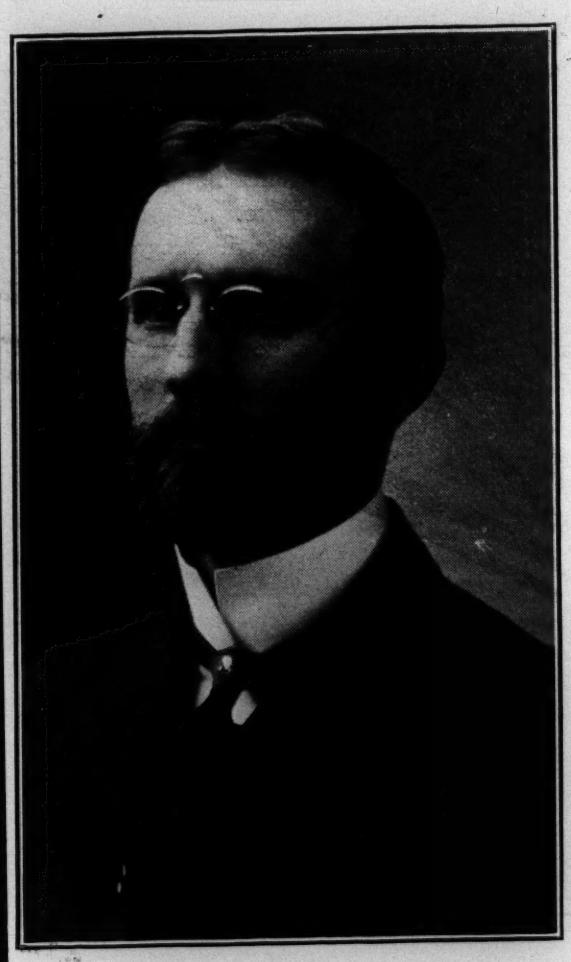
"It would do no good, mamma," said Mr. Dorkins. "The city has no money to pay for having the ashes and garbage hauled away. The explanation has been given a hundred times."

"No money? Why, that's awful! Then even the mayor and aldermen have to go without their pay, don't they?"

"Oh, Maria, what you don't know about the business of running a city would fill a dozen Carnegie libraries."—*Chicago Tribune.*

Senator Sutherland on Suffrage.

There can hardly be a stronger argument for woman suffrage than testimony of its value from men who live in the Suffrage States. Following Senator Bristow's splendid speech before the Senate on February 18th, an unusually clear, logical and comprehensive statement of the suffragist's case was made by Senator Sutherland of Utah. Senator Sutherland's endorsement is important, since he is known as a conservative man, a careful thinker, and a politician of unblemished record. Born in England, Senator Sutherland received his education in American schools, graduating in law at the University of Wisconsin. He bears an honored name as a constituional lawyer. This is Senator Sutherland's second term in the Senate, he having been elected in 1905 and re-elected in 1911. Some of the best paragraphs of the Senator's speech are given below.



SENATOR SUTHERLAND OF UTAH.

"It is said by some that the result would simply be to double the vote without changing the result; that the women would generally vote as their husbands do. And it is said by others that it will develop unfortunate antagonism between husband and wife over political differences. I think generally, though not always, in those States which have adopted equal suffrage, that husband and wife vote the same ticket just as generally, though not always, they attend the same church. There is nothing remarkable or sinister in this any more than there is in the fact that generally, though not always, the male members of the same family agree in their political affiliations. There are, it is true, occasional differences of opinion between husband and wife, but I have not observed that it is followed by anything more serious than generally follows from the occasional differences about other matters or from similar differences among brothers and sisters or between mother and son. * * *

"I have no intention of entering upon any affirmative argument in justification of woman suffrage. Indeed, to my own mind, the most convincing argument for the political enfranchisement of women is the absence of any really persuasive argument against it. If it be right to extend the voting privilege to all sorts and conditions of men, I am not quite able to see the justice of denying the same right to all sorts and conditions of women. If we have extended the privilege too broadly in the case of men and wisdom demands that we should eliminate the unfit, the thriftless, and the illiterate, that is a good reason for denying the privilege to these classes of both sexes. It is no reason for denying it to the women who are fit and capable. In other words, the line which should separate the voters from the non-voters is one of character, and not one of sex.

"I give my assent to woman suffrage because, as the matter appeals to me, there is no justification for denying to half our citizens the right to participate in the operations of a government which is as much their government as it is ours upon the sole ground that they happen to be born women instead of men."

Hearing Before the Judiciary.

Before an audience that packed the Judiciary Committee room in the House office building, on the morning of March 3d, speakers chosen to represent the Congressional Union told the Judiciary why suffrage was now a national question; why the Committee should report the bill out; and why the Democratic party was being held responsible for the passing of the bill. In all respects this hearing differed from any similar occasion. For years suffragists have been entreating and arguing and expounding reasons why the committee ought, on ethical grounds, to pay some attention to the suffrage measure. Every time a hearing had been granted the same old arguments were brought to bear, and the committee listened with the same mask-like countenances, the same air of slightly bored disdain. This time new arguments were introduced, and the committee listened without the remotest suggestion that any member was in the slightest degree bored or disdainful. On the contrary, every man listened attentively, most of them asked questions of the speakers, and all showed that they understood at last that woman suffrage is not a theory, but practical politics.

Mrs. Glendower Evans introduced the speakers, and herself made a short but interesting address.

Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict put the situation in the frankest and most courageous words. She began her address by distributing among the committee members a little suffrage map of the United States, and asked them to regard carefully the "triumphant, threatening army of white States, crowding rapidly eastward towards the center of population, representing as it does nearly 4,000,000 women voters." Said Mrs. Benedict: "I ask you to look at that map and consider whether you want to put your party in the delicate position of going to those 4,000,000 women voters next fall for endorsement and re-election, after having refused even to report the woman suffrage amendment out of committee for discussion on the floor of the House.

"Two or three considerations have occurred to you, perhaps, which might tend to weaken this position of ours. Let us consider them. You might say:

"'Why do you select this Democratic administration for your demand? This is the first time in 18 years that the Democratic party has been in control of the Government. We're doing our best to give the people what they want. We're trying to live up to our platform pledges. We think we're doing pretty well. Why light on us? Why persist in embarrassing us with this very troublesome question? We don't want to decide it. We don't want to take a stand on it. You're forcing us. Why don't you leave us alone?'

"To this I can only answer, we, too, think you're doing pretty well. We think it's a good administration. The last thing in the world we want to do is to get you into trouble. But, with us, getting the right to vote is the big issue. Until we get it, there isn't much in the way of tariff and currency that we care about. Now this is the first year when we've been strong enough politically to make women suffrage a national question, to put it up to Congress. You Democrats happen to control the Government. That's all. The Democratic party for the first time in 18 years is in a position to pass the federal suffrage amendment; we for the first time in the history of the country are in a position to demand action on that amendment.

"Now you may also say with a good show of reason 'Women voters in suffrage States have never voted as a body on anything. They have divided up among existing parties, have voted Democratic, Republican, Progressive, according to their leanings. They will probably go on doing so. Why worry?'

"Yes, but a totally new situation has arisen. Women voters have never before had a national issue pre-eminently affecting women on which to stand together. Woman suffrage has never been made a national question before. Further woman suffrage has never been made a party question before. It is a national party question now, unmistakably—made so by our insistence on your responsibility as a party, and made so emphatically by your own party action in committee and caucus.

The Woman Votes and the Party.

"If this Congress adjourns without taking action on the woman suffrage amendment, it will be because the Democratic party deliberately dodged the issue. Every woman voter will know this. And we have faith that the woman voter will stand by us. You will go to her and say:

"'Madam, we have done thus and so. We have lowered the tariff, we have reformed the currency, we have passed new banking laws, we have avoided war with Mexico. Madam, we have done well and we want your vote.' And she will say to you:

"'It is true that you have done those things. But you have done a great injustice—you have insulted my sister in this near-by State. She asked for a simple, fundamental, democratic right, a right which I possess and which you are asking me to exercise in your favor. It was in your power to extend this right to her and you refused.'

"After this you come to me and ask for my vote. But I shall show you that we stand together, my sister and I.

"We believe that some hundreds of thousands out of the 4,000,000 women voters will take that stand next fall, if your party takes no action on this question. It stands to reason that you cannot go back forever asking the po-

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VOL. II MARCH 7, 1914 No. 10

The Suffragist

Official weekly newspaper of the

CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE COMMITTEE

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DARLING 34 PRINTER

SENATE AND HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NUMBER ONE Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United State of America in Congress Assembled (*two-thirds of each House concurring therein*), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—

"Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Sec. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

Introduced:
In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:
In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:
In the Senate: June 13, 1913, unanimous favorable report.

Discussed:
In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.
September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demands immediate action.
On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.

Present Status:
In the Senate: Awaiting action.
In the House: Before the Judiciary Committee.

A HEARING, INDEED.

The Judiciary Committee, known variously as "The Graveyard," "The Morgue," etc., broke all its records on Tuesday of this week. It gave the woman suffrage question a real hearing, a thing the question has never had before in a Congressional Judiciary Committee room. Anything drearier than the Judiciary hearings of by-gone years can scarcely be imagined. The half circle of committee members with faces as nearly as possible blank to all interest or emotion, the suffragists pleading eloquently, "Report our bill adversely if you will, gentlemen, but for Heaven's sake, do not bury it. Give us a chance, we beg of you." This describes an old fashioned hearing. Nothing followed. The "Graveyard" never gave up even a dead report.

Nothing like this at the latest hearing. The committee was alert and intensely interested. They interrupted nearly every speaker with questions, political questions, for the most part. Republican members chaffed Democratic members; the Progressive member asked the women why they didn't all join his party, which was on record for the cause. The women, brilliantly alive to their question, conscious of the powerful position they occupied, did no pleading. They simply put the situation before the committee and told them that woman suffrage was a condition now, if it had once been simply a theory. No one who was present could escape the conviction that, whatever the result of the vote in the Senate on the suffrage amendment this week, woman suffrage for the entire United States is as inevitable as the rising of the sun to-morrow morning. It cannot even be deferred beyond a very few years, for, as Mrs. Beard told the committee: "The political party which will enter into possession of the Federal Government on March 4, 1917, will believe that woman suffrage is a matter of national concern and transcendent national importance." And it will act.

THE SENATE DEBATES.

We go to press during the second day of a most animated and interesting Senate debate on the suffrage measure. Never before has woman suffrage been so thoroughly and so ably discussed on the floor of either house of Congress.

The debates on the bill in the Senate have been richly illuminative of the immense progress the woman suffrage question has made during the past year. Hardly a man in the Senate ventured to declare himself an anti-suffragist. Heflin of Alabama, made an anti-suffrage speech of the good old vitriolic order, but he made it at the Judiciary Committee hearing and not on the floor of the Senate. In the Senate the speeches were noticeably free from the Why-don't-you-stay-at-home-and-mind-the-baby line of argument. Now and again a vague reference to women's "sphere" appeared, but no one dwelt on the subject. The waning spirit of the anti forces was shown in the fact that every red herring that could be drawn across the trail was used to confuse the real issue. The favorite herring was, of course, the State rights argument. "California has no more right to say whether the negro women of Florida shall vote than Florida has to say that the Japanese shall vote in California." When any question gets to a point where nothing more than such shallow logic is brought to bear against it, it is near the place where all opposition breaks down. The State's rights argument is the last ditch that most great reforms have to clear. This was proved in the concluding weeks of the debates on the direct election of Senators, proved again in the discussions on the income tax, and it has been proved in half a dozen other instances.

The education of Congress on the woman suffrage question is almost complete. Another year, at most, and the suffrage amendment will go to the State legislatures for certain ratification.

MR. REED OF MISSOURI.

The education of Congress will not be entirely achieved until its members get firmly fixed in their minds the idea that woman suffrage is at least as important as trust legislation. Mr. Reed of Missouri, is a true type of the average man who thinks only in terms of business. He objected to debate on the suffrage question, "because we have coming before us in the very near future legislation of the gravest importance, legislation that the country expects, legislation that the country is waiting for, bills of national importance, upon which early action is expected." Mr. Reed of Missouri, is accustomed to thinking of women as females, not human beings. Female affairs are all very well, after business hours. Every man likes a little feminine society, he likes to hear the ladies talk. They do it very well—almost as well as Senators. But a proposition to interrupt business in order that the affairs of females may be discussed sounds like heresy to Mr. Reed of Missouri. He has no conception of the fact that woman suffrage is not a female affair at all, but a community affair of the very greatest importance. The proposal to enfranchise the women of the United States is not insignificant, it is revolutionary. The accomplishment of nation-wide woman suffrage will, in time, completely change the aspect of society in this country. Can any one claim that any other measure before Congress will do that? Mr. Reed of Missouri, will soon find himself alone in the Senate unless he wakes up to the importance of women and the affair they are at present most interested in.

DEMOCRATIC OUTLOOK.

In the Senate and in the House last week criticism from the Republican ranks has been aimed at the President, and at the Democratic party in the House, for their refusal to deal fairly with the women who are asking for the right of suffrage.

The Democratic Party should heed these omens of coming trouble. Republicans will criticise the majority for its stand on suffrage, not only in Congress but on the stump—when votes are sought, women's as well as men's.

While the Democrats are still in the saddle, and the opportunity for frank and fair dealing with a great emancipation movement is still within their grasp, will they choose to earn censure and contempt when they might gather immortal political laurels?

The Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage looks to the Democratic Party for enlightened action.

Hearing Before Judiciary.

(Continued from Page 3)

litical support of the women of ten States if you continue to deny justice to the women of the other States.

"Just one frank and friendly word in conclusion. We all admit, don't we, some of us with joy, and some with sorrow, that the women of this country are going to get the vote? You might give it to us now. That's what we're asking. Or you might give it to us after a long, bitter political struggle. We are ready to go into this struggle if you force us to, but we are not eager for it. Gentlemen, why turn us into enemies? Why not keep us as friends?"

Mrs. Mary Beard's Address.

It is greatly to be regretted that the scholarly address of Mrs. Mary Beard cannot be presented in full in these columns. As much as possible will be published, and the address in full will be available later in the special report of the hearing to be issued by the Judiciary Committee. Every woman interested in suffrage should write to the committee and ask for a copy of the report.

Mrs. Beard's address was a masterful analysis of the States' rights-federal rights theories, and she showed that every question is a national question that we think is national, and everything is a State that we think is a State question.

Referring to the history of suffrage in the United States, Mrs. Beard said:

"Those who say that suffrage is a purely State matter, have neither history nor political science on their side. Only a superficial observer will say that the framers of the federal constitution considered the matter on its merits and settled it for all time. As Madison so justly remarked about the Constitution, there is no use to try by the standard of pure theory that which was the outcome of practical compromises.

"A careful examination of the records of the Convention which framed the Constitution shows that far from holding that it was of no importance to the nation how the Representatives in Congress should be chosen, the leading members of the convention believed that the matter of the suffrage was a vital matter of national concern. One of the first propositions to come before the convention was that the House of Representatives should be chosen by the people of the several States —in other words, that the election of Representatives should be vested in the people, not in the State legislatures as in the case of Senators, nor left to the discretion of the legislatures as in the case of Presidential electors. Many members of the convention thought that to vest the election in the people of the several States would be a too violent change from the old practice under the Articles of Confederation which left it to the legislatures of the States to decide how members of Congress should be chosen. Gerry of Massachusetts, Sherman of Connecticut, Butler of South Carolina, and Spaight of North Carolina, were against election by the people; but the nationalists of that day, holding that the election of the House by the people was a vital national matter, carried the day and the resolution in favor of that mode was passed. Attempts were more than once made to leave the election to be determined by State legislatures. For example, on June 21st, General Pinckney of South Carolina, moved that Representatives should be elected as the legislatures of the States might decide. Still, the nationalists on the suffrage question were victorious, and when the draft of the Constitution went to the committee of detail on July 23, election by the people was in the plan.

"The committee of detail worked out the Constitution from the draft referred to it by the convention, and among the papers of that committee are evidences of attempts on the part of some of the members to go even beyond election by the people and prescribe uniform qualifications throughout the Union. In the handwriting of Randolph of Virginia, is a proposal that 'the qualifications of elector shall be the same throughout the States with that in the particular States, unless the legislature (the Congress of the United States) shall hereafter direct some uniform qualification to prevail through the States.' In other words, from Virginia, the cradle of democracy, came the proposition to allow Congress to regulate the qualifications for voting throughout the States. In the handwriting of James Wilson of Pennsylvania, is a paper providing a free hold qualification for voters for members of the House of Representatives. It is clear that the committee of detail which put the draft of the Constitution into form considered the matter of providing one uniform national suffrage qualification and of allowing Congress to regulate the national suffrage. The committee, however, was apparently unable to agree, and so the members compromised by providing that the voters for Representatives should be those entitled to vote for the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

Why States Were Allowed to Name Electors.

"When the report of this committee of detail containing this provision was laid before the convention a serious attempt was made to put a uniform property qualification on the right to vote; in other words, to make a national suffrage qualification. Any one who will take the trouble to go through the debates will discover that the present system of leaving it to the States was not agreed to because the members of the convention were convention were convinced that suffrage for national representatives was a State matter, but because they were unable to agree on the exact qualifications to be imposed on voters for Representatives. In other words, we may truly say that the framers of the Federal Constitution believed suffrage to be a national matter; that they deprived the States of the right to say how Representatives in Congress should be chosen; that they vested the right to regulate elections in Congress; and that they would have fixed a uniform national suffrage for Representatives if they could have agreed upon the precise details. The framers of the Constitution are on our side when we claim that suffrage is a national matter, at least as far as the election of Representatives is concerned. The property qualifications which troubled them, trouble us no longer, so that the issue becomes a simple one: suffrage is national.

"What the framers of the Constitution were unable to agree upon in 1787, the framers of the 14th and 15th amendments decided at the close of the Civil War. The first of these amendments contemplates universal manhood suffrage, for it says that when any State deprives adult male citizens of the right to vote, its representation shall be reduced; and the second provides that no person shall be deprived of the right to vote on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Whatever you may personally think of those amendments, they are a part of the constitutional law the United States. They forced Northern as well as Southern States to abrogate their suffrage qualifications disfranchising negroes as such. Negroes are still disfranchised under the constitution of Ohio; it is the Fifteenth Amendment which gives them the right to vote there, not the State. Sirs, in 1912, the voters of Ohio refused by a large majority to strike out of the constitution of that State the word of the old constitution of 1851 which disfranchises negroes. It is only the Federal amendments which secures them that right at this very moment in Ohio.

"How can it be said, therefore, in the face of our history that suffrage is a State matter and of no concern to the Congress of the United States? The original Constitution did not permit the States to determine the qualifications of voters for United States Senators, but commanded the State legislatures to choose. It did not allow the States to prescribe any qualifications they please for voters for Representatives, but ordered that they should be the same as for voters for the most numerous branch of the State legislatures. Only in the case of Presidential electors was the determination of the methods of election left to the States. The men who made the Union in the eighteenth century believed suffrage to be a national matter; the men who saved the Union in 1860-65 also believed that suffrage was a national matter."

The political note struck by the principal speakers was further emphasized by Mrs. Donald Hooker, fresh from the battle with the Maryland State Legislature, in which promises of support of the suffrage amendment went to the winds before the mandates of the party leaders. It was furthered also by speeches from two women voters, one of whom, Mrs. William Kent of California, made a short review of events in her State since the bestowal of the franchise.

Dr. King Speaks for Women Voters.

Dr. Cora Smith King of Washington, reminded the committee that she was a voter, like themselves, and eligible to Congress, like themselves, and asked them to remember that she was only one of several million women voters. She told them something of the National Union of Women Voters, organized in every suffrage State, the objects of which are three: to educate the woman voter in politics and citizenship; to aid the suffrage States to secure good laws; and to aid in the extension of suffrage to women in the non-free States.

"Thousands of women in the newly enfranchised States," said Dr. King in closing, "have not yet made their party alignments. They are waiting to find out what party they find most congenial. These newly enfranchised women have not forgotten what their vote cost them, in time, in work, in energy expended, and they have their ears attuned to the plea of their sisters in the Eastern States. This committee, gentlemen, has been called the Graveyard Committee. I hope that the term does not apply to the present committee, but that you will break the record and report this bill out."

Representatives Knowland and Mondell both made a strong plea to the committee to allow the members of the House to vote on the measure.

THE BILL DEBATED IN THE SENATE.

As we go to press the second day of debate on the suffrage amendment is in full swing. On Thursday, February 26, Senator Ashurst asked unanimous consent that on March 24th the Senate should proceed to the consideration of Joint Resolution No. 1 (the suffrage amendment), and that not later than three o'clock on the afternoon of February 28th the Senate should proceed to vote on the amendment. Senator Thompson of Kansas, objected to this date because the Senate would then be considering the trust bills. May 4—two days after the nation-wide demonstration, and five days before the Washington demonstration—seemed to Senator Thompson to be an appropriate day for voting on the amendment. Senator Gallinger wanted the vote taken on March 27, and to this suggestion Senator Ashurst gave assent. Senator Reed of Missouri, asked for the floor for the purpose of entering objection, and Senator Ashurst said:

"I shall be very glad to yield to my friend, the Senator from Missouri, but doing so I wish to make this observation, and then I will yield the floor. This, in my opinion, is important legislation, but it is not the only important legislation with which the Senate must deal. It has been pending on the calendar, as I repeat for the fourth time, since the middle of last June. Are Senators afraid to vote 'yea' or 'nay' upon it? Is an American Senator here afraid to vote? Why not then, let us set a date for a vote? It does not become a Senator to sit here and object to fixing a day for the vote, I do not wish to be placed in an attitude of critizizing those who object, but I will say this, not as a threat, but as a simple statement of what I propose doing, that if the request for unanimous consent is objected to, immediately upon the conclusion of the Post Office Appropriation bill, I shall move to proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution and ask for a roll call upon that motion."

Trusts More Important Than Women

Senator Reed objected to fixing a date to vote upon the joint resolution. He said:

"I see nothing in the measure which demands that all the business of the country shall be halted in order that it may be submitted to the various legislatures. In my opinion this measure is not nearly so pressing as the speedy disposition of the trust legislation which is to be soon brought forward, for, whether that legislation be wise or unwise, it will affect generally the business situation in the United States, and until it is settled and put at rest there will be to a certain extent some interference with trade manufacturing and labor.

"We ought to get this important legislation speedily out of the way. We ought to proceed along the line of carrying forward those measures that are understood to be of great importance and are to be pressed upon Congress. When we have disposed of these pressing matters it will be time enough to take up the suffrage question.

"Some 6,000 years, at least, of history have gone by and the ladies have succeeded in getting along this far without the right to vote, except in States where it has been especially granted. I think the dear women will continue to survive even if we should not vote upon this measure until the 1st day of June. I do not believe the world will come to an end or the price of millinery be radically altered or the homes of the land destroyed or that chaos and old night will settle down upon this country if we do not vote upon this joint resolution until even the 15th day of June. Nay, more, I apprehend the Constitution of the United States will continue to exist, the Federal Republic to maintain its dignity, and the world to move on in its accustomed way if we should not vote on this joint resolution until as late as the 20th day of next June.

"I am in favor of going ahead with the business that is pressing upon us for our attention. When we have passed upon the measures embraced in what I am pleased to call the legislative program, for want of a better name, in which I include the trust bills and certain other great measures, I shall not be a mere obstructionist. I shall be perfectly willing to meet this question and discuss it and vote upon it."

What Interests The President

Senator Reed also told the Senate that the President was interested in having bills "of that character" pressed. Senator McCumber of Minnesota, gave notice that as soon as the Post Office Appropriations bill was disposed of he would move to proceed with consideration of the bill to provide for the inspection and grading of grain entering into interstate commerce.

The Post Office Appropriation bill was voted upon on Saturday, February 28th, and on Monday, March 2d, Senator Ashurst, upon the conclusion of the morning business, moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the joint resolution.

Senator McCumber moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar 181, to provide for the inspection and grading of grain entering into interstate commerce, adding pathetically that he felt that he could not conscientiously keep any longer in abeyance a bill that had been before the Senate for more than twelve years. A sharp and rather involved parliamentary debate ensued, some of the Senators losing track of events and voting against their convictions, quite like new members of the Woman's Club. Senator Reed moved to table the McCumber motion, believing that this would carry to the table with it the Ashurst motion. Another debate ensued, in which it was brought out that this would not be the case. Mr. Reed then moved to table the Ashurst motion, and this was voted down by a majority of thirty-three, sixty-one Senators voting. Those who voted to table the resolution were Senators Bankhead, Bryan, Gore, Hitchcock, James, Kern, Martine, Overman, Reed, Robinson, Shields, Smith of South Carolina, Swanson, and Tillman, all Democrats. It may or may not be worth noticing that every Republican who was recorded on the question voted in favor of bringing the suffrage amendment to a vote.

Senator Ashurst then addressed the Senate in a strong plea for the bill, which, at two o'clock, was thrown open to debate.

Senator McCumber of North Dakota, pled passionately for the right of States to deal with all questions of the electorate, excepting when the Fifteenth Amendment was called into question. The debate for a time seemed to switch to a discussion of the right of negro men to a vote, but it was saved by Senator Williams of Mississippi, who took it back to the question of States' rights. Senator Williams does not know that he is opposed to woman suffrage at all, but he is certain that he, like most of the other Southern Senators, wants the Federal Government to keep out of the States, except when they want an amendment imposing prohibition on the entire country. Said Senator Williams, in a record-breaking sentence.

Record-Breaking Rhetoric

"The framers of our Constitution were very wise when they did not delegate to the Federal Government and thereby left to the States the authority to determine who should be the electors in the States when they provided that those Federal officers elected in the States should be elected by those electors qualified by State law to vote for the most numerous branch of the State legislature, reserving to the Federal Government certain powers in regard to the manner and time of elections, but leaving to the State to determine who should vote for the Federal officials, provided only that the State took the medicine that she gave the Federal Government, to wit, the same people who voted for the Federal officials should be those who voted for the members of the most numerous branch of the State legislature."

This represents the attitude of nearly all the opposers of the amendment, who apparently have never read any of the debates which took place before the adoption of the Constitution. The sole and only reason why the framers of the Constitution did not delegate to the Federal Government the authority to determine who should be electors was that they could not agree on the kind of property and religious qualifications which should be placed on the voters.

"That's Different" Said Senator Bryan.

Almost at the hour, on the following day, that Mrs. Mary Beard was explaining this fact to the members of the Judiciary Committee, Senator Bryan of Florida, in an inordinately long and dreary speech, was invoking the ghost of the State's constitutional right to appoint its electors. Senator Bryan was opposed to Federal interference with State rights all along the line. Senator Shaffroth of Colorado, intervened long enough to ask Senator Bryan if he was in favor of a Federal amendment to prohibit the manufacture and sale of liquor in the United States. "Ah," said the gentleman from Florida, "let us take up one question at a time." But he dropped the States' rights argument. He wandered from the question of women's inherent inferiority to man, to her tendency to stack morals in the suffrage States. Women voted for the saloon in Denver. There had been a frightful increase in divorce in the United States, especially in the suffrage States. The Senator read long extracts from Montesquieu and de Tocqueville, showing the dangers that constantly threatened a democracy. The Senate emptied itself into the lobby, hardly a man remaining on the Republican side. Senator Clapp made the one good suffrage speech of the day, an address which will be published later. The Senate adjourned at five to take up the debate on Wednesday.

THE STATE'S RIGHTS SHIBBOLETH

By Mary Beard.

Women who are asking for a Federal amendment abolishing sex discrimination in the suffrage provisions of the Constitution are informed that the determination of the qualifications for voting is purely a State matter. They are dismissed with an air of finality not unlike that which follows a mathematic demonstration. The suffrage is a matter of State, not national interest, and that is the end of the discussion.

There are some simple minded persons who accept this dictum as the final word on the subject; but those women who have studied even a little American history and politics know very well that the border line between national and State matters cannot be settled by a mathematical process or by an ipse dixit of some interested politician. They know that neither the Republican party, the champion of nationalism, nor the Democratic party, the champion of States's rights, has been consistent in its attitude toward national and State rights. They know that each of them has leaned toward national or State governments exactly whenever it has suited the party and economic interests.

Did not Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, founders of the Democratic party, rend the air with cries of States' rights against Federal usurpation when the Federalists chartered the first United States bank in 1791, and when the Federalist court under the leadership of John Marshall rendered one ringing nationalist decision after another upholding the rights of the nation against the claims of the States? Yet Jefferson, as President, acquired the Louisiana territory in what was admitted by him to be open violation of the Constitution; and the same James Madison who opposed the Federalist bank in 1790, as a violation of the Constitution and States' rights, cheerfully signed the bill rechartering that bank when it became useful to the fiscal interests of the Democratic party. Jefferson was ready to nullify the alien and sedition laws and the Constitution of the United States in the Kentucky resolutions of 1798; the very Federalists who fought him in that day and denounced him as a traitor and nullifier, lived to proclaim and practice doctrines of nullification in behalf of States' rights durng the war of 1812.

In the administration of Thomas Jefferson, the national government began the construction of the great national road without any express authority from the Constitution, and notwithstanding the fact that the construction of highways was admittedly a State matter. Eighteen years later, a Democratic President, James Monroe, vetoed an act for the preservation and repair of the Cumberland road and labored to prove that the whole venture was a violation of the Constitution and an invasion of rights reserved to the States. On August 24, 1912, the Congress of the United States, then controlled by the Democratic party, voted $500,000 for the construction of experimental and rural delivery routes and to aid the States in highway construction. From high in the councils of that party we now have the advocacy of national ownership of railways, telegraph and telephone lines. In the early days of the Republic, the Democratic party protested even in armed insurrection in Pennsylvania against the inquisitorial excise tax which, to use the language of the day, "penetrated a sphere of taxation reserved to the States"; to-day, the Democratic party places upon the statute books the most inquisitorial tax ever laid in the history of our country—and a wise and just tax, too, many believe. That same party by an act of April 9, 1912, laid a tax on white phosphorus matches, not for the purpose of raising revenues, for which the taxing power is conferred, but admittedly for the purpose of destroying an industry which it could not touch otherwise. The matches industry was found to be injurious to a few hundred working people; the Democratic party wisely and justly cast to the four winds all talk about the rights of States, made the match industry a national matter and destroyed the dangerous features of the business. Men and women all over the country rose up and pronounced this a noble achievement. Republicans joined with Democrats in claiming the honor of that great humane service. Shades of departed Democrats, a taxing power which, according to Calhoun, could not be used for the purpose of protecting industries, may be used to destroy them. Consistency, where is thy virtue and States' rights, where is thy victory?

The State had the right to nullify Federal law in 1798—so Jefferson taught and Kentucky practiced. Half a century elapses. The State of Wisconsin, rock-ribbed Republican Wisconsin, nullified the fugitive slave law and in its pronunciamento of nullification quoted the very words which Jefferson had used in 1798. A Democratic Supreme Court at Washington, presided over by Chief Justice Taney, the arch apostle of States' rights, answered Wisconsin in the very language of the Federalists of 1798 whom Jefferson despised and contemned: "The Constitution and laws of the United States are supreme and the Supreme Court is the only and final arbiter of disputes between the State and National governments. A few more years elapse. South Carolina declares the right of the State to nullify; and Wisconsin answers on the field of battle: 'The Constitution and laws of the national government are supreme, so help us God.'"

At the close of that ever to be regretted war, the nation wrote into the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, the fundamental principle that the suffrage is a national matter. Those amendments were intended to establish forever, adult male suffrage throughout the American empire. It is true that those amendments are in many respects nullified by ingenious provisions. But there they stand. You are confronted by this dilemma: Either you must openly flaunt and scorn them, and thus virtually say to the nation, we will obey just as much of the Constitution as we please, which is the doctrine of the anarchist; or you must say suffrage is by the Constitution a national matter and we abide by the Constitution.

All reasonably sophisticated persons know that anything is a State matter which we think is a State matter, and anything is a national matter that we think is a national matter. The women of this country—the women of the enfranchised States and the women of the States not yet enfranchised think suffrage a national matter. Men may turn aside those women who expect to simper their way to the suffrage by saying, "Just one moment, please," or "Kindly step the other way, please"; but they cannot thus dismiss those who have read the long and inconsistent history of all parties.

From history women appeal to political science and here they cite the example of the only great independent federation that deserves to be compared with the United States: the German Empire. The constitution of that confederation does not leave the determination of the qualifications for voters for the Reichstag to the mercies of the states; but solemnly and emphatically prescribes that every adult male German citizen shall vote for members of the imperial congress, whatever may be the qualifications for voters in the several states. The German constitution was made in the full light of modern political science and suffrage was there treated as a national matter.

If we turn to the other great federations of the world—Switzerland, Canada and Australia, we find that their constitutions treat the suffrage for federal offices as a national matter by empowering the federal parliaments to make uniform regulations with regard to qualilcations for voters. The constitution of the Australian commonwealth provides that the qualifications imposed on voters by the states shall remain "until the (federal) parliament otherwise provides; and in 1902 the federal parliament established uniform qualifications throughout the commonwealth as far as federal elections were concerned and enfranchised women in spite of the opposition in some of the states.

A study of the constitutional law shows therefore that in no federation is the suffrage regarded as a purely state matter. The Constitution of the United States does not allow the States to provide any qualifications they please for voters for members of the House of Representatives or Senators, as is the rule in the case of the choice of Presidential electors, where the State legislatures may make any qualifications they see fit. The constitution of Germany established universal manhood suffrage for Reichstag elections; the constitutions of Switzerland and Canada empower the federal parliaments to make uniform regulations whenever they see fit; the constitution of the Australian commonwealth authorizes the federal parliament to make uniform qualifications and the federal parliament almost immediately after the adoption of the constitution swept away sex discriminations in federal elections.

Charlotte Perkins Gillman to Speak.

The third of the rarely interesting "Six Talks on Suffrage," arranged by Mrs. John Jay White, was held on Thursday evening of this week at the home of Mrs. Alexander Graham Bell, No. 1331 Connecticut Avenue. Those who attended had an unsually fine opportunity to hear the suffrage case, indeed the entire feminist case defined with authority and in fascinating fashion. Charles Zueblin, the lecturer, besides being one of the most interesting men in the United States, is one of the best sociologists of the English speaking world, a writer, editor and lecturer of power and great charm.

The fourth lecture in the course is to be given on Thursday, March 12, at eleven o'clock in the morning, at the home of

,by Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Mrs. Gilman's first and most famous book, "Women and Economics," has been translated into almost every language spoken in Europe. On the continent she is regarded as the peer of Ellen Key, the most eminent feminist in the world. Mrs. Gilman's philosophy is not understood in the United States as it should be. Mrs. Gilman herself will probably not during her lifetime be appreciated for the great and unique thinker and writer that she is. As a speaker she has few equals. She is gentle, yet vigorous; mild yet radical. Above all, she is logical. Mrs. White performs a service to the people of Washington in bringing Mrs. Gilman here. Mrs. White deserves the thanks of the women of Washington for her brilliant lecture course.

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PROPAGANDA WORK.

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An unusually attractive course of lectures on woman suffrage by speakers of international reputation has been arranged by Mrs. John J. White. The proceeds will go to the Congressional Union.

The fourth meeting of the series will occur March 12th, at 11 A. M., in the Woodward & Lothrop Assembly Rooms.

Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, the brilliant writer, author of "Woman and Economics," etc., will be the speaker. On March 19th, at the home of Mr. William Eno, 1771 N Street, N. W., Mr. Max Eastman, for several years professor of logic at Columbia University, now editor of the "Masses," and a lecturer who delightfully combines philosophy and humor, will be the speaker.

The last of the series will be given at the home of Mrs. John G. Henderson, 16th Street and Florida Avenue, March 26th. Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, distinguished writer and speaker, will be the feature of this meeting.

The hour for these meetings is 8:30 P. M., price of subscription to entire course $5.00; single lecture, $1.00. Address all communications to Mrs. J. J. White, 2408 Massachusetts Avenue. The following are the list of patronesses:

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Requests.

The donation of chairs suitable for office use is requested. All who have such chairs, and are willing to donate or lend them to Headquarters, are requested to notify Miss Emily K. Perry, 1420 F Street, as soon as possible.

It is requested that every one who has time to give for Suffrage work, call at Headquarters and offer their services. Every Monday and Tuesday a special corps of workers is desired, to address wrappers for THE SUFFRAGIST.

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